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The Kwoma are a mountain-dwelling people. Except for the southeastern slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post,[2] they control the entire segment of the Peilungua Range which lies northwest of the Sepik. The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the Amiki and Sowal people, and on a little group of hills to the northeast, separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who call themselves Yelagu. The Malu, Yambon, and Yessan, the river neighbors of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language, which the other understands.

The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tangwishamp, the Urumbanj, the Koriasi, and the Hongwam.[3] Their territories are contiguous. The Hongwam, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all the data here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are distinct social entities and are not above carrying on head-hunting raids against one another.[5] More frequently, however, they will band to-

[2] While the fieldwork on which this report is based was being carried on, Ambunti was still a functioning administrative post. Since then this station has been moved to Marui, approximately thirty-five miles downstream, to facilitate communication with the District headquarters at Wewak.

[3] The terms "tribe" and "subtribe" have been adopted here although it might be objected that, since there is no political organization which unites these four groups, it is improper to call the Kwoma a tribe.

[5]

| *Native Name* | *Name Appearing on Maps and in Australian Record Books* | *Population* |
|---|---|---|
| Hongwam | Waskuk—Bangus | 374 |
| Koriyasi | Chissaraman (Shasherman) | 116 |
| Urumbanj | Urumbans (Urumbanji) | 108 |
| Tangwishamp | Tangunjambi (Taunjambi) | *circa* 300 |

Hongwam is referred to as Washkuk by M. Mead in *Sex and Temperament* and in "The Mountain Arapesh: I. An Importing Culture," *Anthro-*

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829 visits to Mar's house. They had never seen me without shoes
123 on, however, and when they saw my white feet they shud-
114 dered and turned away, indicating strong revulsion and horror. Mar told me afterward that the girls were sure that I was a ghost after they had seen my feet.

648 Another event that was important in determining the atti-
175 tude of the Kwoma toward Europeans took place in 1928. Two Australian police boys, while foraging for food at Hongwam, met and raped two Hongwam housewives. The husbands and relatives of these women attacked and killed the two police boys. When the Australian officer in charge of the district discovered the murders, he visited the tribe with a squadron of police boys, killed about twenty of the natives,[25] cut down their orchards, and burned their house tamberans. The natives who escaped fled into the bushes and swamps. The patrol officer built a house and stayed with his entourage until he had enticed the natives to return to their territory and had established order. During this time he tried to make clear to the natives that they had been punished for homicide and that, if they had grievances, they should bring their case to the "government" and not take the law into their own hands. He also let it be known that the Australian government was ready to punish anyone convicted of head-hunting or sorcery. Despite this warning, the Hongwam carried out a successful head-hunting raid a few years later. The patrol officer again visited the tribe; however, he could not discover the actual culprits, and so merely gave the assembled people of Kwoma a severe lecture threatening dire consequences similar to those of 1928 if there was any further evidence of head-hunting. He also forced a group of Kwoma, including Gwiyap, Mar, and Fit, to witness the hanging at Ambunti of some river natives who had been convicted of taking heads.

[121]

114 When we arrived at the government station at Ambunti on
648 our way to Kwoma, the patrol officer stationed there sent a police boy to Hongwam to order all the adult males to come to the station and carry our luggage over the mountain.

[25] Seventeen of those killed appear on the genealogical charts.

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If he dislikes a girl who makes advances to him, he may turn her down, but even this is dangerous, for if he antagonizes her too much, she may claim that he attempted to rape her. If he dislikes a betrothed girl who is already living with him, he may express his aggression by scolding her and by criticizing her behind her back, but if he harms her, he is in jeopardy of retaliation from her relatives.

Foreigners constitute a final category of persons whom an adolescent boy fears. He continues to avoid them as he did during childhood. On the other hand, he is now eligible to go on a head-hunting raid and thus has the opportunity to react aggressively toward them. Since head-hunting is primarily an adult occupation, however, its description, including examples of the reactions of adolescents, will be postponed.

An adolescent girl reacts to pain and danger in a manner frequently similar to, but often different from, that of a boy. Both sexes react similarly to the natural environment. While girls do not participate in hunting, they are not loath to kill a snake or lizard which gets in their way. Toward insects, noxious flora, sorcery,[41] and ghosts, their behavior is also quite comparable. On the other hand, whereas boys are initiated into the cult and thus learn a special type of behavior toward *marsalai*, girls do not undergo such an initiation. In fact, they must avoid the house tamberan during ceremonies, like children, and are supposed to believe that the sounds of gongs and flutes are the voices of the *marsalai*. Nevertheless, adolescent girls have a fairly good idea of what causes the sounds. I once purchased several wooden figures which represented *marsalai*, and was told to hide them carefully, for if a child or a female saw one it would cause their death. One afternoon Kar visited me with his two nieces. Seeing the figures under the bed he pulled them out to examine them, apparently oblivious of the presence of his nieces. The two girls sat watching the proceedings and whispering to one another about the objects.

[41] Girls do not participate directly in anti-sorcery behavior, but they are as vociferous in their verbal aggression against putative sorcerers as are boys, if not more so.

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cumstances this is the case, but a dispute over property, the abduction or rape of a woman, or a head-hunting murder may break off these safe relations. Visiting then takes place only at the risk of one's life, until the matter can be settled. Finally a foreigner may sometimes steal, trespass, or encroach upon Kwoma land.

Safe relations with another tribe are reëstablished after a dispute by means of an intertribal court. After the heat of a dispute has cooled,[49] the adult males of the two tribes arrange by gongs to meet at an appointed place on neutral territory. They all carry daggers and spears to be prepared for treachery and to give force to their arguments. The two groups face one another, and a spokesman advances from each in turn to present the case of his tribe. Each spokesman accentuates his speech by slapping a flat board on the ground. Often the two representatives stand close to each other, chests out and eyes flashing, and jab bone daggers over one another's shoulder. Just as in the intratribal court, it is important not to flinch, so only the most courageous of the tribesmen act as spokesmen. Such courts are most commonly held to settle territorial disputes, to arrange the payment of a bride-price for an abducted girl, or to decide on a wergild for a head-hunting murder.

Open warfare between New Guinea tribes is infrequent, and the Kwoma are no exception. A war was waged in the time of the grandfathers of living informants. It began with a territorial dispute with the people who inhabited part of the area that the Kwoma now occupy. After a prolonged series of raids and counterraids, the Kwoma exterminated all but a small remnant of the enemy, who fled to another location. During the war, the Kwoma captured the leader of the enemy. They dragged him to one of their house tamberans and trussed him to the center pole. Then they held a dance around him, jabbed spears into him, spat at him, and otherwise tortured him. Finally they killed him, cut him up like a

[49] Informants said that it was of no advantage to hold a court when "bellies were hot with anger," as it would probably end in a fight.

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721 593 578 not the explanation at all. The real reason why the work was undone, she said, was that the woman had spent the morning in the bushes with Kar. War became furious at this, knocked his wife down with his fist, and threatened to spear his brother Kar. Kar denied the accusation indignantly, saying that his wife had merely invented the story to get him in trouble, whereupon he, in turn, clouted his own wife. War was still suspicious, but did not proceed further against Kar. War's [586] wife, however, returned in a fury to the hamlet, packed her things, took her young daughter by the hand,[51] and left before War returned. Kar, who had arrived before she left, tried to dissuade her, but did not succeed. When War returned that evening and found his wife gone, he was even [302] more angry than before. He painted his face with clay and swore that he would not take it off until he had brought her back or killed the man to whom she had fled. The next day he traced her to Yelagu, a neighboring tribe consisting of only six families. He took three spears and set out alone to bring back his runaway wife. Someone warned the Yelagu that he was coming, so that when he arrived there was only a cripple left in the village. War demanded where his wife had gone, but the cripple either could not or would not tell him and offered him a dog and some shell money if War would spare his life. War demanded more money, took it and the dog, and returned home.

721 The next evening War called his friends and relatives together. He distributed the dog meat among them, told them what had happened, and suggested that they go on a head-hunting raid against the Yelagu. He argued that it was a very small tribe and that they were all cowards. He said that it would be a good opportunity for some of the young men who had not yet taken a head to do so. He admitted that he was interested in getting his wife back and teaching her a lesson, and in punishing the man who had harbored her. [648] Most of those present thought that it was a good idea, but several objected on the grounds that Yelagu was too near

[51] Theoretically she should have left her daughter with her husband, since children belong to their father's hamlet.

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729 [266] Finally they killed him, cut him up like a pig, and made soup of him. Only the adult males were allowed to eat the soup,[80] and it was believed that they were thus made such brave fighters that they were able to conquer their enemies.

726 [721] The head-hunting raid provides the most frequently employed means of expressing aggression toward a foreigner. Such a raid is planned in advance, and allies are often recruited from friendly neighboring tribes. A careful itinerary is drawn up, and an unsuspecting and weak hamlet is chosen for attack. The men meet before setting out on the raid to eat a ceremonial soup. They travel under cover of darkness, arranging to arrive at their destination just before dawn. Then the men quietly surround an outlying dwelling and stand with spears poised while two of the boldest of the attackers creep toward the house. When they reach the entrance they let out a blood-curdling scream and kick the door down. The other attackers join in the shouting and in spearing the dazed occupants as they rush from the dwelling. When the attackers have killed the whole household, they rush to other houses in the hamlet, hoping to catch and kill some inhabitants who have not awakened at the outcry and 727 fled. Then they return and behead the corpses with a bamboo knife. They carry the heads home. When they near their own tribe, they set up a victorious shout and dance into their hamlet, holding their trophies by the ear in their teeth. Then follows a victory dance which lasts for several days and nights.

721 554 [794] A man is impelled to go on a head-hunting raid to gain prestige, as well as to avenge himself on a foreigner. No man is eligible to join *Nokwi*, the highest grade of the yam cult, until he has taken a head. Until he belongs to *Nokwi* he cannot plant yams, nor is he considered to be a man of importance in the community. It is the *Nokwi* members who have the greatest weight at the court sessions. Furthermore, a man

[829] [80] This is the only occasion in the memory of informants that the Kwoma had practiced cannibalism. They showed disgust and contempt for those tribes who ate human flesh and betrayed some shame in reporting the above incident.

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Furthermore, a man who has not taken a head is held in contempt by his wife. Yat explained to me why he went on a raid. "I was angry with my wife one day and began to beat her. She taunted me. She said, 'You are very brave when it comes to beating women, but fighting a man is quite different. If you had taken a head, I would not complain when you beat me. It makes me ashamed to be married to a man who dares beat only his wife.' My belly became hot with anger at this taunt, so I went down to the house tamberan and called together my friends. We planned a raid and carried it out. I came back with a head between my teeth and showed it to my wife. Since then she has not complained when I beat her. Many of us Kwoma go on raids because we are taunted in this way by our wives."

In addition to the motives of vengeance and prestige, a head-hunting raid is a means of expressing aggression in displaced form. Much of the aggression generated in the in-group is inhibited from direct expression by the sanctions against aggression toward members of one's hamlet, relatives, and certain non-relatives. There are no sanctions, however, against killing a foreigner on a head-hunting raid, so that in this way a man can express much of the aggression which he has had to inhibit.

The following case concerns the genesis of a head-hunting raid which took place during my stay in Kwoma. It illustrates, in particular, how a raid may be a means of expressing aggression in a displaced form. War, a man of considerable prestige in the community, owned and operated a garden in common with his two younger brothers, Kar and Kis. One day War and Kar were working on this garden with their wives. War returned to the hamlet in the afternoon, leaving Kar and the two wives to spend the night in the bush house. He gave his own wife orders to weed a certain portion of the garden before he returned the next afternoon. When he returned he found the work not yet done. He asked his wife for an explanation, and she said that she had been possessed by a ghost the night before and that this had upset her so that she had been unable to work. Kar's wife said that this was

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Ambunti, the government post. Some of the men present had seen six river natives hanged by the white government for head-hunting and did not relish the idea of being caught themselves. They said that it would be much safer to attack Sowal, a tribe far in the swamp which the whites had not yet visited. Wof, a *brother* of War, voiced another objection to the raid. He pointed out that his gardens adjoined Yelagu territory, and since they would be sure to retaliate, it would not be safe for him to work in his garden if the raid were carried out. The group disbanded, excited but undecided. 721 • 648

For two weeks there was a great deal of discussion among the men of the tribe. War and Wof argued with particular vehemence, War presenting over and again the reasons why it was a good idea to raid the Yelagu, and Wof countering with his objections. The two even broke relationship for a time because of the dispute. Neither visited the other's house, and they passed one another guardedly without speaking. The other men of the tribe, meanwhile, had been swayed by the argument that there was considerable danger of punishment from the whites if Yelagu were attacked, whereas Sowal involved much less danger. It was also reported that high water had driven the Sowal out of their central village, and that they were living on knolls in small isolated groups that would be particularly vulnerable. The pressure of these arguments finally forced War to give up his idea of attacking Yelagu, and he threw his weight into planning for the Sowal raid. He and Wof reëstablished their relationship. [578]

War and some of the older men of the hamlet began to incite the young men to go on the raid. He told them that this was their chance to become big men. In particular he played upon the emotions of Mes, because he, as my shoot boy, could use a gun. The effect of these incendiary talks put Mar in a strong conflict. One evening he came to talk to me about it. He told me that he had decided not to go on the raid. He was afraid that the raiders would get in trouble with the whites, and he was not going to have anything to do with it. Then he began talking about what he would lose by not going and started to weep. He sobbed: "Never mind. I'll

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133 slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post, they control the
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foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago
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131 river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the
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[197] call themselves Yelagu. The Malu, Tambon, and Yessan, the river neighbors
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[191] people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language,
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619 The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tangwishamp, the
Urambanj, the Koriasi, and the Hongwam. Their territories are contiguous.
[101] The Hongwam, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all
the materials here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to
[197] the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the
[721] same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are
distinct social entities and not above carrying on head-hunting raids against
one another. More frequently, however, they will band together for raids
against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

361 Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are
[368] clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet
[423] is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in
a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the
paucity of level sites, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.



[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 4 1.

October 25, 1936.

101 Last night Kum and War visited and we talked about the political divisions
619 of the tribe. They said that the Waskuk and Bangus together were called
Hongwam, and that Urambanj, Tangwishamp and Koriasi together were another
[197] group called kuoma.* These all speak the same language, so they said, and
101 inhabit adjacent mountains. Other adjacent tribes are the Yambon on the
river to the south; the Yelagu, one day's walk to the east; and the Numau,
173 three days north-west; and the Kamburu, five days north-west. Before the
721 whites came, they made raids on all of these people to kill them for prestige.
726 A large number of them would creep up on a hamlet at night, surround it,
and fall on the sleeping inmates with much yelling and shouting. They would
kill only those who were near at hand; those who escaped were not followed.
[411] They used spears for weapons. Kum and War would not admit they either took
[27] heads or were cannibals. The former was the custom of the river people; the
[266] latter they had heard of being done on the Markam river.
Hamlets, house tamberans and their history.

173 The Ngaya occupied the present site of Ambunti--the mountains and the
adjacent sago swamp. At the time of the grandfathers of the present genera-
tion, they were bow and arrow people who killed and ate the Hongwam people.
Later when they went to work they would strap pigskin shields to their backs
[648] and breasts to protect themselves. Finally the Hongwam called together the
Malu, Yambon, Yasi, Nowel, Avatip Urambanj, and Koriasi and they wiped out
the Ngaya. A few Ngaya ran away and were absorbed into the people living at
Yelagu, but the rest were killed. One reason for getting rid of the Ngaya
was that the Hongwam had no sago and were living on the sap of the breadfruit
tree.

* Probably Kwoma

I noticed some spears
353 on a rack just under the ridgepole. There was one larger than the rest
411 and ornamented with cockatoo feathers. It was not an ordinary pig spear, but
[237] used only to kill men. I had Mar take it down, and we went back to our house with it where I took a picture of Mar about to hurl it at an imaginary enemy.

619 Earlier in the afternoon we heard someone yelling from a distance.
586 The boys about the house answered it and told us that the Tangwishamp had
[721] stolen a Waskuk woman. There was some excitement about this. They said that in the days before the white government, this would have meant a fight, but that now, if the report turned out to be true, they would "make court" against the culprits at Ambunti. This morning, as far as we could make out, the story was not true. It seems rather that the Tangwishamp are sending back a Waskuk woman whom one of them had married. She is for some reason unsatisfactory to them. This seems to be accepted by the Waskuk as a perfectly justifiable action.

124 November 20, 1936. A week ago we told the Waskuk that we would like some of
the "savvy talks" to come around during the day, and we would pay them as informants. Until then we have worked with them only when they have happened around; the rest of the time we've worked with the kids who are always around the house. As a result of this call at least one of them has been at our house almost every day from breakfast until bed time, and we are nearly
[126] swamped trying to keep up with what they have to say. We are trying to organize our information as we go along rather than leave it in the form of raw notes. As a result it seems to take a great while to record very little, but this seems to be the only way to know where we stand and what questions to ask. During the past few days we have been working on the kinship system. It is not complete, and there are probably mistakes in it. We have also collected miscellaneous bits of information on history,--they have migrated a short distance a few generations ago; headhunting and cannibalism--one

619 The Kwoma who live on these mountains are divided into five groups,
[921] Yangwishamp, Urambanj, Koriasi, Hongwam, and Yelagu. Although there is
[197] no political connection between any of these groups, and headhunting is
carried on between them, the language and culture are identical in the
[197] first four of these. Yelagu language has a distinct but overlapping
vocabulary and the structure of the language is similar enough so that
they can communicate with each other. Their culture, from what little
we know about it, is similar. Members of these groups intermarry and trade
[438] with one another despite the headhunting.

614 Hongwam is made up by the fusion of three ethnic groups, the Wanyi,
619 who were the first comers, the Hayamakwo second, and the Tug who came most
[793] recently. Each of these groups have a mythical ancestor, respectively
the pig, the eagle, and the sago palm. Practically all birds, animals,
fish, and vegetables are associated more or less definitely with one or the
[582] other of these groups. These groups do not function in controlling marriage
which is determined by membership in the korump, or house tamberan group.

614 Wanyi had two functioning house tamberans, Hayamakwo one, and Tug
619 three. Beside these there are in each of the three groups several exogamous
621 units too small to build a house tamberan of their own. These latter
groups are the result of a split in the korump from internal friction, of
the migration of a small group of outcasts from another tribe, or of the
inclusion of a remnant of a tribe which has been practically annihilated
by a headhunting raid.

621 The korump is divided into little clusters of houses in which close
602 relatives dwell - usually brothers or father and grown sons. The household
592 itself consists of a man, his wife or wives, and a group of unmarried
736 children - not only his own, but more often than not, the children of his
deceased brothers whom he is caring for.

114 521 648 Tangwishamp had gone with him as far as the market and then had returned. Eve had gone in, bought food, shot a kaviak tree for demonstration purposes, then had sent half his boys to fetch a pig that the Amikis had killed. While they were thus separated, the Amikis got their guns and then killed Eve and his boys; took all of Eve's trade, and divided it up. Then they burned their guns in the funeral pyre. The Tangwishamp said if I didn't believe it they would show me the fire scorched post in the house tamberan. They wanted me to get the police and some police boys and settle the matter. They would go too with their spears to get heads, birawa. I said that I had heard this talk of Eve before, but I had thought it was not true. They were very insistent that it was, and named about ten Amikis who had gotten heads at the time. I was still not sure that the story was true, but it was very convincing.

[123] [721]

114 I went and told Haab who was in the police house at the time with the recruiter's boys; their talk got quite excited. They said that Afokalis was very close, and if they had killed Eve, it must have been in collusion with the Tangwishamps; and if so, what was to prevent them from sending word to Afokalis to come over and kill us. At this point Mar said that he had overheard a couple of Tangwishamps exclaiming about the axes, knives, etc. that we had, saying that they would kill us during the night, and get them for themselves. They planned to kill me and Haab and Bob's boss boy first and then the other Hongwans would run away and be killed. The boys decided to keep watch.

We built a big fire and sat around it talking and watching. I was very ambivalent about the situation. I felt that,looked at sanely, the whole thing was probably a farce, but at the same time I was quite scared. I decided that it certainly was on the safe side to keep watch. Some of

695 754 spear. He would finish his speech with an accusation against Wanyi or Hayamakwo. This would be answered by members of these sibs. Wof and Way, and to some extent War were spokes men for Hayamakwo.

The chief accusation seemed to rest on Afalmwanj, who wasn't there. The gong was beaten, but he still did not come. Sowinambi had accused him before the talk and it was said he was afraid to come. The talking went on [264] until I left about 11:00. It had calmed down to almost nothing by the time I left, and many of the younger men were growling because they were not [123] passing out the food yet. When I left I was given a piece of pig.

123 [439] My friend from Tangwishamp visited and asked for matches, etc., for which he gave me some betel pepper. He asked me to go to Afokalis with him [765] (to get me out of the way), so I went. On the way, we passed War's. War was covered with mud. He said it was because he was mourning for his [521] father. My friend and I went down to Afokalis, where a group was gathered [754] in the house tamberan talking about the Sowinambi poisoning. We came back and stopped in at War's. Gwiyap and Mar did not want me to leave. A [262] large group had gathered from all the sibs except Afokalis. They were cutting up dog and distributing it. It turned out that the real reason for [593] War's mourning was that he had gone alone to Yelagu to get his wife back, [628] but had not succeeded. He had been given pay in shells and a pig, and had not wanted me to know about it because, he was not sure that he wasn't 648 going to Yelagu to kill them. There was loud talk from the house tamberan 721 that evening and Mar said they were all bemoaning the fact that the police had come, so they could not go and wipe out the Yelagu.

224 March 2, 1937. Yat came up this noon and said that he had made a blind for catching pig in his sago patch near Ambunti. He went there the other day and found that Kwiyampa and Dowari and Mawandaya had broken it and

123 some sort of fearful retaliation. I can't quite sense it. It comes to
156 consciousness in a feeling that I won't be liked, and I have an over-
[626] whelming desire to be liked by everyone. This sanction of the mores by direct physical punishment is also quite foreign to me in a cultural sense, and it is very difficult for me to accept it in this as well as the unconscious psychological sense. This is a point on personality and culture or the personality of culture.

123 I sat around at the house tamberan for a while. Wof came down. Mar,
726 Mes, Gwiyap and May were there. War began talking to Mes in a low tone. He said something about my musket and Yelagu. I guessed what it was, and later Gwiyap told me that War was suggesting that May get the musket and go with him and wipe out the Yelagu people. Mes and Mar reacted to this by getting very excited and dancing up and down in the house tamberan. In the middle of this talk Chinuwe called out that there was somebody in my house stealing something. The house boys and I ran up, but it turned out to be a dog and Chinuwe's imagination. I told Gwiyap and Mar that this musket business could not be, for word would get to the police about it, and I would be hanged along with the rest of them. If War wanted to shoot them with a spear, it was his business.

126 April 14, 1937. This morning Yefomoungwis, Kwalump, Amba, Evelas, and
721 War came up ornamented, and I took a picture. Kwalump and Kronai asked me
726 whether I would tell the police if they went on a head-hunting raid. I
[123] told them no, that it was their business. May told me that the time was set for tomorrow morning, that they were making soup now. Men were going by the house all morning to pull Memk's canoe. In the afternoon they came back and feasted at Rumbima. Awe visited in the afternoon, and I got some information from him. He said he did not want to eat with the others

721 because he was afraid of sorcery. Kar came up later and asked me why I did not
726 come down. I went, and there were about 50 people there. Most of them were or-
[123] namented with black paint and mane (bird of paradise) feathers. They played ball
[302] until dark and then left. I told Kar that I would not tell the police about the
[301] raid, and he seemed upset and wanted to know who had told me about it. I
[524] answered that I had overheard War at the house tamberan, so as not to get my
[123] informers in trouble.

726 Mar and Mas told me that they were going to raid not Yelangu but Nugitama
648 (Sowal Urambanj). The former place had representatives of the Australian gov-
ernment, and they were afraid they would get in trouble with the police. Sowal
Uramganj, however, was not yet under Australian control, and they could get
away with it.

I asked them if they were going. Mar said "No, mi fraid long kiap mi no laik hang im up. Maski, mi stop alasaim mari. Mi no man. Mi mari dasol. Mi stop mari olatsim. Maski put im bilas bilong biruwa." (No, I'm afraid of the Australian patrol officer. I don't want to be hung. Never mind, I will be a woman the rest of my life. Never mind weaning the symbols of manhood.) He showed considerable affect during this speech as if he were making quite a sacrifice by deciding not to go. He and Mas both asked me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble. Mar said that perhaps later they would go to Yelagu and clean it up, but that this was a different affair, War's idea, but that if this came to pass, he was going to tell the police because his garden would be useless.

726 They reported that now they were waiting for men from Urambanj, Tangwishamp,
[501] Koriasi, and Yambon. War had made soup at his house. They were planning to go by canoe, to leave that night and skirt the Kwoma mountains. They would approach at night, single out one house tamberan and surround a house silently. At number one fowl (dawn), the leader would approach the house and break the fence (evidently the Sowal Urambanj's have palisades).